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E.O. 11652: XGDS-2 TAGS: GR TU CY PFOR

SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH CLERIDES

1. SUMMARY: WITH BOTH MAKARIOS AND CLERIDES, KARAMANLIS HAS GIVEN NEW AND VERY STRONG SUPPORT TO AN EARLY CYPRUS SOLUTION BASED ON BIZONAL FEDERATION. HE HAS REPORTEDLY AND AT LONG LAST INDUCED MAKARIOS TO INITIAL A STATEMENT AGREEING TO THIS. HE HAS ASSURED CLERIDES HE WILL HANDLE MAKARIOS IF CLERIDES GETS A SETTLEMENT HE CONSIDERS ACCEPTABLE. PRESSURE FROM KARAMANLIS HAS APPARENTLY PERSUADED MAKARIOS TO GIVE QUIET SUPPORT TO CLERIDES IN CONTROVERSY OVER HIS PERFORMANCE AT VIENNA III. CLERIDES FEELS EC-9 SHOULD PROMPTLY SHOW SOME ACTION ON CYPRUS INITIATIVE. HE THINKS CONTINUED FLEXIBILITY BY DENKTASH WILL DEPEND IN LAST ANALYSIS ON ATTITUDE OF MAINLAND MILITARY, WECKMANN RESIGNATION IRREVERSIBLE. CENTRIST POLITICAL MOVEMENT LIKELY TO BE ANNOUNCED BY CLERIDES IN LATE SEPTEMBER. END SUMMARY.

2. I SAW CLERIDES AUGUST 8 FOLLOWING WERE HIS COMMENTS OF PRINCIPAL INTEREST:

A. KARAMANLIS SUPPORT OF CLERIDES AND A BIZONAL SOLUTION. SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 NICOSI 02465 081912Z

CLERIDES MET KARAMANLIS ALONE IN ATHENS ON JULY 23 JUST

BEFORE POSTPONEMENT OF VIENNA III. KARAMANLIS REAFFIRMED HIS SUPPORT OF A CYPRUS SOLUTION BASED ON BIZONAL FEDERATION. HE TOLD CLERIDES TO NEGOTIATE THE BEST DEAL HE COULD GET AND INITIAL IT, WHATEVER MAKARIOS' ATTITUDE. KARAMANLIS SAID, "I WILL TAKE CARE OF THE REST."

B. IN HELSINKI, KARAMANLIS TOLD MAKARIOS PRIVATELY THAT
THERE WOULD BE NO SOLUTION OF CYPRUS PROBLEM EXCEPT ON A
BIZONAL BASIS. IF MAKARIOS REFUSED TO ACCEPT THIS FACT,
KARAMANLIS WOULD WASH HIS HANDS OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM.
MAKARIOS RELUCTANTLY AGREED AND KARAMANLIS OBLIGED HIM THEN
AND THERE TO INITIAL A MEMORANDUM TO THIS EFFECT. ONLY KARAMANLIS, MAKARIOS AND CLERIDES AWARE OF THID DEVELOPMENT. (CLERIDES'
POINTED IMPLICATION WAS THAT BITSIOS AND GREEK AMBASSADOR
DOUNTAS, NEITHER OF WHOM IS TRUSTED BY CLERIDES, ARE NOT IN
THE PICTURE. CLERIDES WAS INFORMED BY KARAMANLIS ON HIS
WAY BACK FROM VIENNA III.)

C. AUGUST 5 MEETING OF MINISTERIAL AND NATIONAL COUNCILS TO REVIEW HELSINKI AND VIENNA. THERE HAD BEEN SHARP ARGUMENT OVER CLERIDES' ACCEPTANCE IN VIENNA OF BIZONAL SYSTEM. SOME PARTICIPANTS CONTINUED TO ASSERT THAT ONLY A MULTI-REGIONAL SOLUTION ACCEPTABLE. MAKARIOS SAID THAT OPPORTUNITY HAD PASSED. EVERY EUROPEAN LEADER WITH WHOM HE HAD MET IN HELSINKI HAD EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT THERE WOULD BE NO SOLUTION EXCEPT ON A BIZONAL BASIS. MAKARIOS OVERRULED AN EFFORT TO HAVE MULTI-REGIONALISM MENTIONED IN STATEMENT ISSUED FOLLOWING MINISTERIAL AND NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING.

D. AKEL SUPPORT FOR BIZONAL SOLUTION. AKEL (CYPRUS COMMUNIST PARTY) SECRETARY GENERAL PAPAIOANNOU HAD VISITED CLERIDES BEFORE VIENNA III TO PLEDGE SUPPORT FOR A QUICK SOLUTION BASED ON BIZONALITY. IN CONTROVERSY FOLLOWING VIENNA III, AKEL HAD ISSUED GRATIFYING STATEMENTS OF SUPPORT. THESE HAD POSITIVE EFFECT OF ISOLATING (SOCIALIST PARTY LEADER) LYSSARIDES.

E. EC-9 INITIATIVE. THIS MOST WELCOME TO THE GREEKS. TURKS UNDERSTOOD TO BE NEGATIVE BUT DEMIREL HAD APPARENTLY BEEN PERSUADED RECEIVE AN INITIAL DELEGATION IN ANKARA. ESSENTIAL SECRET

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PAGE 03 NICOSI 02465 081912Z

THAT EC-9 SHOW EARLY ACTIVITY EVEN IF THIS LIMITED TO A VISIT TO CYPRUS DURING AUGUST. OTHERWISE, THERE WOULD BE SERIOUS PUBLIC DISAPPOINTMENT BASED ON FEELING THAT PROMISED INITIATIVE HAD "FIZZLED OUT". CLERIDES HAD MADE THIS POINT STRONGLY TO UK HIGH COMMISSIONER OLVER.

F. PROSPECTS. IN VIENNA, DENKTASH HAD BEEN FLEXIBLE. THERE HAD BEEN NONCOMMITTAL DISCUSSION OF GEOGRAPHY. DENKTASH HAD

COMMITTED HIMSELF TO DISCUSS ALL ASPECTS IN NEW YORK SEPT 8-9. IT REMAINED TO BE SEEN WHETHER TURKISH POLITICAL SITUATION AND MILITARY ATTITUDE WOULD PERMIT THIS. (WE DISCUSSED WECKMANN'S OPTIMISTIC PROGNOSIS BASED ON ASSURANCES RECEIVED FROM DENKTASH - NICOSIA 2450).

G. WECKMANN'S RESIGNATION. CLERIDES AGREED THIS WAS UNFORTUNATE BUT SAID IT COULD NOT BE UNDONE. IT WOULD ADMITTEDLY TAKE MONTHS TO BREAK IN A NEW SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE BUT IF ALL WENT WELL IN NEW YORK, MOMENTUM MIGHT BE SUSTAINED BY WALDHEIM AND (SENIOR POLITICAL ADVISOR) GORGE DURING THE INTERVAL.

H. CLERIDES' CENTER MOVEMENT. THERE HAD BEEN CONSIDERABLE QUIET ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY DURING JULY AND THE PACE WOULD BE STEPPED UP IN AUGUST, LOOKING TOWARD FORMAL ANNOUNCEMENT IN LATE SEPTEMBER. IF SEPTEMBER 8-9 NEW YORK NEGOTIATION PRODUCED RESULTS OF TANGIBLE BENEFIT TO GREEK CYPRIOTS, THIS WOULD BE A GOOD SPRINGBOARD FOR THE NEW POLITICAL MOVEMENT.

- 3. I INFORMED CLERIDES OF SENTATOR PELL'S VISIT WHICH NOW APPARENTLY SCHEDULED FOR AUGUST 18. HE SAID HE WOULD BE PLEASED TO MEET THE SENATOR ALTHOUGH THAT WAS DURING PERIOD IN WHICH HE HAD SCHEDULED TO TAKE SOME VACATION.
- 4. IN CLOSING, CLERIDES STRESSED THE STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL NATURE OF EXCHANGES WHICH HAD TAKEN PLACE WITH KARAMANLIS, ASKING THAT EVERY PRECAUTION BE TAKEN TO PROTECT THIS INFORMATION.

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